



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Africanising African history: decolonisation of knowledge in UNESCO's general history of Africa (1964-1998)

Schulte Nordholt, L.R.C.

Citation

Schulte Nordholt, L. R. C. (2021, December 1). *Africanising African history: decolonisation of knowledge in UNESCO's general history of Africa (1964-1998)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3244250>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3244250>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Appendix I

Organisation of the *General History of Africa*

The administrative organisation of the *General History of Africa* (also see Figure 7) was set up as follows: Before 1971 a meeting of experts came together to discuss the general direction of the work in 1966, 1969 and 1970.¹ There had also been a phase in the project, 1965–70 that concerned itself with fieldwork, primarily in the collection of oral traditions.² Because this was not part of the actual drafting of the GHA, this thesis has only referenced this in so far as it was relevant for the drafting. After 1970, a 39-member International Scientific Committee (ISC) for the Drafting of a *General History of Africa* was appointed (it included newcomers as well as many of the experts who had been involved from the beginning) which met every two years and was in charge of and responsible for the project's scientific activities.³ To direct the project in-between those biennial meetings the committee also elected an executive committee, called the Bureau. This Bureau consisted of seven members, at least four of whom had to be African. The Bureau also had a rapporteur, or secretary, the French historian Jean Devisse.⁴ Devisse remained rapporteur for the duration of the drafting of the GHA.⁵ Originally it was imagined that the whole project would be completed between 1965 and 1975, but this time frame was amended along the way.⁶ From 1975 onwards the Bu-

1 UAP, UNESCO/CLT/HIGENAF/ABIDJAN/3, Committee of Experts on the General History of Africa, Abidjan 31 August – 5 September, 1966, Introductory Document, 23 August 1966; UAP, SHC/CONF.27/1, Meeting of Experts on the Measures to be taken for Drafting and Publishing a General History of Africa, Unesco, Paris – 23–27 June 1969. Final Report, 6 August 1969. Translated from the French, 5 and UAP, SHC/MD/10, Meeting of Experts for the Drafting and Publication of A General History of Africa, Addis Ababa, 22 to 26 June 1970, Paris, 15 September 1970.

2 UNESCO, *preparation of a general history of Africa* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 3.

3 The GHA referred to its work as 'scientific' in part because this was a direct translation from the French, denoting academic activity as a whole, and in part because contributing historians did see African history as a truly scientific endeavor in the English sense of the word.

4 UAP, First Plenary Meeting, Rules of Procedure, Article 7, 3.

5 Jan Vansina, "Unesco and African historiography" *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 337–52, 339.

6 UAP, UNESCO/CLT/HIGENAF/ABIDJAN/3, Committee of Experts on the General History of Africa, Paris 23 August 1966, original French. Introductory Document, 1.

reau also had a president, which from 1975 to 1977 was Aklilu Habte, from 1978 to 1983 it was Bethwell Ogot, and thereafter the president was Adu Boahen.⁷ The UNESCO secretariat, moreover, would be in control of financial and administrative matters, as well as the eventual publication of the GHA. The editors and authors were all paid for their labour on the GHA.⁸ Maurice Glélé was the UNESCO official in charge of the GHA throughout its lifespan.⁹ Glélé played a pivotal role in the creation of the GHA. He often opened committee sessions in name of the Director General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow (Federico Mayor from 1987 onwards, René Maheu until 1974) and it was his work which allowed for the smooth running of such meetings. Glélé was also an academic historian in his own right, which likely made him all the more valuable as a manager of the project.¹⁰ The GHA policy structure was set up in a democratic way, ensuring all scholars involved, as well as some UNESCO officials, would be able to comment on the content of the volumes. Reading committees of around four to five members taken from the ISC were set up for each volume to ensure quality and to allow the ISC to exert a certain amount of control on all the volumes.¹¹ Each reading committee was subsequently headed by a *rapporteur*, who was in charge of communicating all comments by various readers to the editor and the committee at large. As follows, the volume directors were not solely in charge of the editing of the work, hence their titles as 'directors' rather than editors — although the terms were used interchangeably. The task of editing itself was that of the whole of the 39-member committee as well as the reading committees. It was therefore possible for ISC members who were not part of a specific reading committee to still respond to draft chapters.

⁷ UAP, CLT CID 140, CLT/CID/HGR/71.07/CW, Christophe Wondji to Madame Coffi-Studer, 19 January 1995.

⁸ UAP, CLT CID B7S2.23-12, contract between The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and Professor Bethwell A. Ogot Department of History University of Nairobi P.O. Box 30197 Nairobi (Kenya)

⁹ N.N., "Human Rights Committee – Members. Maurice Glélé-Ahanhanzo (Benin)", Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, accessed 29 March 2021, <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/membersCVs/glele.htm>

¹⁰ See: Maurice Glélé, *Religion, culture et politique en Afrique Noire* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1981)

¹¹ UAP, CC CSP 34, Préparation Glélé. Comités de lecture d'après le rapport de Paris (30-31 juillet 1979), cc-79/Conf.609/l. 7 July 1980.

Besides the production of 8 multi-authored volumes of around 32 chapters each, the UNESCO project also organised several symposia on topics about which the committee members had identified extensive gaps of knowledge existed.¹² Symposia were held about topics such as the *peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of the Meroitic Script* in 1974, as well as topics concerning methodological and educational dilemmas. The proceedings of these meetings were published in a series dubbed *UNESCO studies and documents — the general history of Africa*, to be found in appendix IV.

¹² UAP, First Plenary Meeting, Rules of Procedure, article 23, 8 and Vansina, "African historiography" 341, 346.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

of the *General History of Africa*

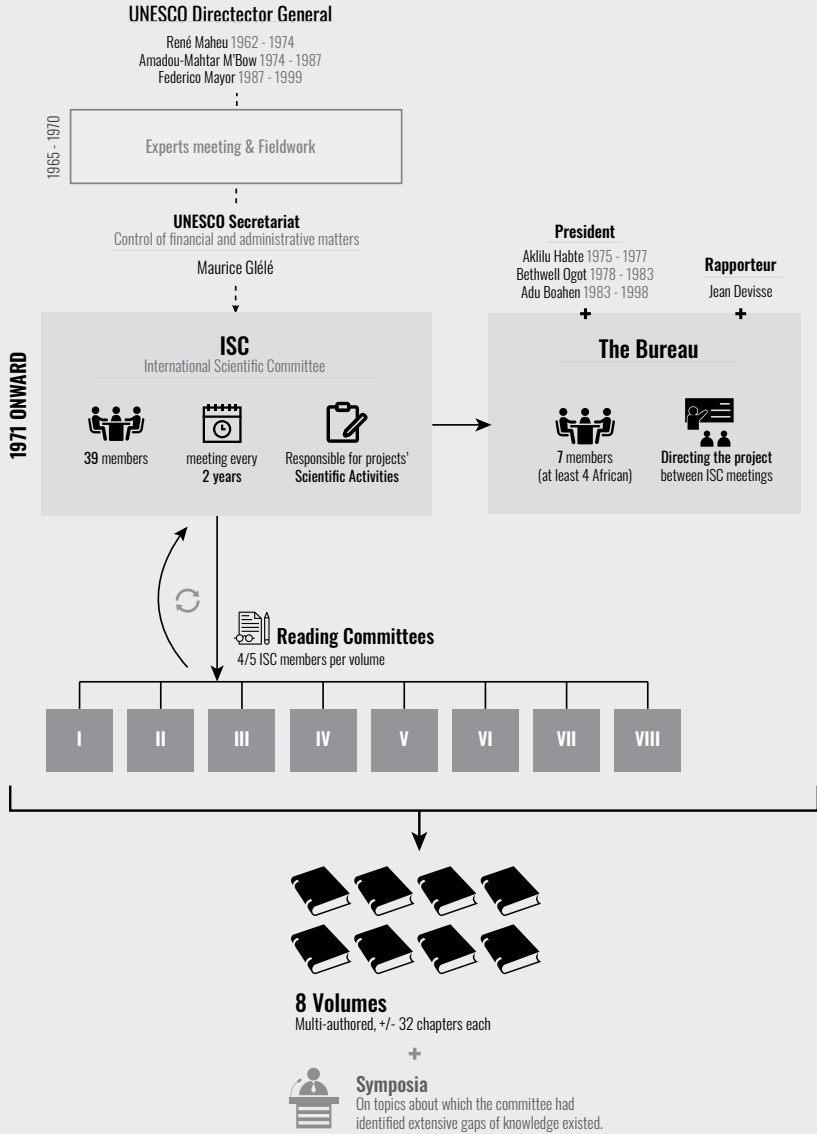


Fig. 7 The Administrative Organisation of the General History of Africa.

Appendix II

Composition of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a *General History of Africa*

- J. F. Ade Ajayi (Nigeria) (*from 1971*)
- F. A. Albuquerque Mourao (Brazil) (*from 1975*)
- Adu A. Boahen (Ghana) (*from 1971*)
- H. E. Boubou Hama (Niger) (*1971–1978, resigned*)
- H. E. Mutumba Bull (Zambia) (*from 1971*)
- David Birmingham (United Kingdom) (*from 1985*)
- David Chanaiwa (Zimbabwe) (*from 1975*)
- Philip Curtin (United States) (*from 1975*)
- Jean Devisse (France) (*from 1971*)
- M. Difuila (Angola) (*from 1978*)
- Cheikh Anta Diop (Senegal) (*1971–1986, deceased*)
- D. Djait (Tunisia) (*from 1975*)
- H. E. M. El Fasi (Morocco) (*1971–1991, deceased*)
- John D. Fage (United Kingdom) (*1971–1981, resigned*)
- J. L. Franco (Cuba) (*1971–1989, deceased*)
- M. H. I. Galaal (Somalia) (*1971–1981, deceased*)
- Virgini Grottanelli (Italy) (*from 1971*)
- Eike Haberland (Federal Republic of Germany) (*1971–1992, deceased*)
- Aklilu Habte (*from 1971*)
- Hampaté Bâ (Mali) (*1971–1978, resigned*)
- I. S. El Hareir (Libya) (*from 1978*)
- I. Hrbek (Czech Republic) (*1971–1993, deceased*)
- Abeodu Jones (Liberia) (*from 1971*)

Abbé Alexis Kagame (Rwanda) (1971–1981, *deceased*)
Isaria Kimambo (Tanzania) (*from 1971*)
Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Burkina Faso) (*from 1971*)
Diouldé Laya (Niger) (*from 1979*)
A. Letnev (USSR) (*from 1971*)
Gamal Mokthar (Egypt) (*from 1981*)
Phares Mutibwa (Uganda) (*from 1975*)
Djibril Tamsir Niane (Senegal) (*from 1971*)
L. D. Ngcongco (Botswana) (*from 1971*)
Théophile Obenga (People’s Republic of the Congo) (*from 1975*)
Bethwell A. Ogot (Kenya) (*from 1971*)
C. Ravoajanahary (Madagascar) (*from 1971*)
Walter Rodney (Guyana) (1979–1980, *deceased*)
Mekki Shibeika (Sudan) (1971–1980, *deceased*)
Yusuf A. Talib (Singapore) (*from 1975*)
A. Tezeira da Mota (Portugal) (1978–1982, *deceased*)
T. Tshibangu (Zaire) (*from 1971*)
Jan Vansina (Belgium) (*from 1971*)
E. Williams (Trinidad and Tobago) (1976–1978, *resigned*)

Appendix III

General History of Africa Volumes

Volume I — Methodology and African Prehistory

Editor: Joseph Ki-Zerbo

Volume II — Ancient Civilizations of Africa

Editor: Gamal Mokhtar

Volume III — Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century

Editor: Mohammed El Fasi

Assistant Editor: Ivan Hrbek

Volume IV — Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century

Editor: Djibril Tasmir Niane

Volume V — Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

Editor: B. A. Ogot

Volume VI — Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s

Editor: Jacob Ade Ajayi

Volume VII — Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935

Editor: A. Adu Boahen

Volume VIII — Africa since 1935

Editor: Ali A. Mazrui

Assistant Editor: Christophe Wondji

Appendix IV

Studies and Documents of the *General History of Africa*

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 1. The Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of the Meroitic Script. Proceedings of the symposium held in Cairo from 28 January to 3 February 1974 (Paris: UNESCO, 1978)

The General History of Africa. Studies and document 2. The African slave trade from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Reports and papers of the meeting of experts organised by Unesco at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 31 January to 4 February 1978. (Paris: UNESCO, 1979)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 3. Historical relations across the Indian Ocean. Report and papers of the meeting of experts organised by Unesco at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 15 to 19 July 1974. (Paris: UNESCO, 1980)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 4. The historiography of southern Africa. Proceedings of the Experts Meeting held at Gaborone, Botswana, from 7 to 11 March 1977. (Paris: UNESCO, 1980)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 5. The decolonisation of Africa: southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. Working documents and report of the meeting of experts held in Warsaw, Poland, from 9 to 13 October 1978. (Paris: UNESCO, 1981)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 6. African ethnonyms and toponyms. Report and papers of the meeting of experts organised by Unesco in Paris, 3–7 July 1978. (Paris: UNESCO, 1984)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 7. Historical and socio-cultural relations between black Africa and the Arab world from 1935 to the present. Report and papers of the symposium organised by Unesco in Paris from 25 to 27 July 1979. (Paris: UNESCO, 1984)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 8. The methodology of contemporary African history. Reports and papers of the meeting of experts organised by UNESCO at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, from 17 to 22 May 1979. (Paris: UNESCO, 1984)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 9. The educational process and historiography in Africa. Final Report and papers of the symposium organised by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982. (Paris: UNESCO, 1985)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 10. Africa and the Second World War. Report and papers of the symposium organised by Unesco at Benghazi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, from 10 to 13 November 1980. (Paris: UNESCO, 1985)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 11. Libya Antiqua. Report and papers and the symposium organised by Unesco in Paris, 16 to 18 January 1984. (Paris: UNESCO, 1986)

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 12. The role of African student movements in the political and social evolution of Africa from 1900 to 1975. (Paris: UNESCO, 1994)

Bibliography

List of Archival Abbreviations

UAP	UNESCO archives Paris
CLT CID	Division of International Cultural Cooperation, Preservation and Enrichment of Cultural Identities
CC CSP	Cultural Studies and Circulation Division
JTLI	Jadeas Trust Library Ibadan
JAAP	J. F. Ade Ajayi Papers
BHL UM	Bentley Historical Library University of Michigan
AMP	Ali A. Mazrui papers
HLAS	Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies
JVP	Jan Vansina papers

Archival Sources

Paris

UNESCO Archives Place de Fontenoy

DDG 3 52

SHC/CONF.27/1

UNESCO Archives Rue Miollis

CC CSP 15

CC CSP 31

CC CSP 32

CC CSP 33

CC CSP 35

CC CSP 36

CC CSP 37

CC CSP 38

CC CSP 39

CC CSP 40

CC CSP 42

CC CSP 43

CC CSP 45
CC CSP 46
CC CSP 67
CLT CID 50
CLT CID 89
CLT CID 92
CLT CID 99
CLT CID 103
CLT CID 104
CLT CID 137
CLT CID 140
CLT CID 141
CLT CID 154
CLT CID 159
CLT CID B7S2.23-12

Ibadan

Jadeas Trust Library
Jacob Ade Ajayi papers
Box 67
Box 73
Box 75
Box 77
Box 78

Evanston

Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern
University
Jan Vansina papers
PO Box 134

Ann Arbor

Bentley Historical Library University of Michigan
Ali Mazrui papers
PO Box 7
PO Box 8

Online Archival Sources

Institute of Current World Affairs

CJP-10

UNESDOC

CC/77/CONF.602/2, Septième Réunion du Bureau du Comité Scientifique International pour la Rédaction d'une Histoire Générale de L'Afrique, Paris, 18–29 July 1977.

C-78/CONF.607/3, Final Report of the Eighth meeting of the Bureau and Fourth Plenary Session of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, 30 March – 8 April 1978.

SHC.73/CONF.602/4., International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, 2nd Plenary Session, Lusaka, Zambia, 21–26 May, 1973, Paris, 3 August 1973.

SHC.75/CONF.601/3, Meeting of the Bureau of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, 5th meeting, Fez, Morocco, 5–11 February 1975.

SHC/75/CONF.613/3, International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, 3rd plenary session, Cotonou, Benin (Dahomey), 8–13 September 1975.

SHC/CONF.70/8 rev, Paris 5 April 1971. First Plenary Meeting of the International Scientific Committee for the drafting of a General History of Africa, Rules of Procedure, Article 1, UNESCO, Paris, 30 March – 8 April 1971.

SHC/CS/121/1, Meeting of Specialists on African Oral Traditions, Niamey, 18–25 September 1967. Working Paper, 16 August 1967.

SHC/CS/121/1, Réunion de Spécialistes en Traditions Orales Africaines, Niamey, 18–25 September 1967, Final Report, Paris, 21 July 1968.

SHC/MD/10, Meeting of Experts for the Drafting and Publication of A General History of Africa, Addis Ababa, 22–26 June 1970, Paris, 15 September 1970.

SHC/WS/198, Guide for the Preparation of the General History of Africa. Paris, 18 November 1971.

UAP, CC-79/CONF.609/1, Report of the Extraordinary Plenary Session of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, Paris, 30–31 July 1979.

UNESCO/CLT/HIGENAF/ABIDJAN/3, Committee of Experts on the General History of Africa, Abidjan 31 August – 5 September, 1966, Introductory Document, 23 August 1966.

'Finding Aid to Sources in the UNESCO Archives on the *General History of Africa* (Focus on Phase I)', 7 March 2012, revised 29 May 2012, revised 9 September 2014, revised 16 December 2015.

85 EX/10 Rev. Executive Board. Eighty-fifth Session. Paris, 6 October 1970.

CLT/83/508/3, Sixth plenary session of the international scientific committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, Brazzaville, 1–3 August 1983.

SH-71/CONF.38/2, Meeting of the Bureau of the International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa, Cairo, 23–27 November 1971.

SHC/CONF.27/1, Meeting of Experts on the Measures to be taken for Drafting and Publishing a General History of Africa, Unesco, Paris, 23–27 June 1969, Final Report, 6 August 1969. Translated from French.

UNESCO website

'General and Regional Histories', UNESCO, <https://en.unesco.org/themes/generalregionalhistories>.

'Language version', UNESCO, accessed 9 February 2019, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/general-history-of-africa/language-versions/>.

'Unesco and the declaration', UNESCO. Accessed 18 June 2018, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/human-rights-based-approach/60th-anniversary-of-udhr/unesco-and-the-declaration/>.

'Women in Africa', UNESCO, accessed 18 May 2021, <https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/>.

Other websites

First Annual Meeting: EAP Editorial Board Part 1: A Speech by Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Encyclopaedia Africana Project. Accessed 13 May 2019, <http://www.endarkenment.com/eap/legacy/640924nkrumahk01.html>.

'Histoire Générale de l'Afrique', #HistoireAfricaine RFI Savoirs. Accessed 3 May 2021, <https://savoirs.rfi.fr/fr/comprendre-enrichir/histoire/histoire-generale-de-lafrique>.

'Human Rights Committee – Members. Maurice Glélé-Ahanhanzo (Benin), Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Accessed 29 March 2021, <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/membersCVs/glele.htm>.

Other Primary Sources

Unpublished papers

Lange, Dierk. 'Chapter 12. The Assyrian factor in Western African history. The founding of Ancient Near Eastern successor states in sub-Saharan Africa', in *Rethinking Africa's transcontinental continuities*, edited by Wim van Binsbergen, 269–302. Unpublished conference proceedings 2018.

Van Binsbergen, Wim. 'Chapter 2. Key note – Rethinking Africa's transcontinental continuities in prehistory and protohistory', in *Rethinking Africa's transcontinental continuities*, edited by Wim van Binsbergen, 59–101. Unpublished conference proceedings 2018.

Newspapers

'The African rediscovery of Africa by Roland Oliver.' *Times Literary Supplement*, 20 March 1981.

Corry, John. 'TV VIEW; 'The Africans': An Attack On Western Values.' *New York Times*, 26 October 1986.

Wané, Fabrice Hervieu. 'Cheikh Anta Diop restaurateur de la conscience noire.' *le monde diplomatique*, January 1998, 24–25.

Werther, Betty. 'Into Africa. Just-completed "General History: a new look at Africa's past."' *UNESCO Courier* 55, February 1994.

Videographics

Vansina, Jan. 'Maturation of African history.' Interview by Florence Bernault, 8 April 2016. Video, 03:36–03:42. Accessed 8 January 2021, <https://janvansina.africa.wisc.edu/interviews/>.

Primary Literature

Abdelmajid, Salim. "Joseph Ki-Zerbo: Le Savant, Le Politique et L'Afrique." *Esprit* (2007/8): 83-108.

Ade Ajayi, J.F. "Colonialism: an episode in African history", in *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 Volume 1*, edited by L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, 497-510. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Ade Ajayi, J.F. "Problems of writing contemporary African history" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 8. The methodology of contemporary African history. Reports and papers of the meeting of experts organized by Unesco at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, from 17 to 22 May 1979*, 47-58. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

_____, "The educational process and historiography in contemporary Africa: background paper" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9, Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*, 11-21. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

_____, and B.A. Ogot. "Introduction" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9, Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*, 9-10. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

Ade Ajayi, J.F. and Michael Crowder. *History of West Africa*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

_____, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891. The Making of a New Élite*. London: Longmans Green and Co, 1965.

Adeboye, Olufunke. "J.F. Ade Ajayi, 1929-2014." *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, 85 no.4 (2015): 741-4.

- Afigbo, A.E. "Oral Tradition and the History of Segmentary Societies." *History in Africa* 12 (1985): 1-10.
- Agyeman-Duah, Ivor. "The historian who made history himself." *New African*, July: 58-60 (2006)
- Allman, Jean. "Review: The Burden of Time. Reviewed Work(s): Africa since 1935: General History of Africa by Ali A. Mazrui." *Journal of African History* 36 no.3 (1995): 528-30.
- Ba Konaré, Adame. "L'histoire africaine aujourd'hui." *Présence Africaine* 173 (2006): 27-36.
- Badini, Adamé. "Joseph Ki-Zerbo (1922-)" *Prospects* XXIX:4 (1999): 615-627.
- Boahen, A. Adu. "30. Colonialism in Africa: its impact and significance" in *General History of Africa VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, edited by A. Adu Boahen, 782-809. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.
- _____, *Clio and Nation-Building in Africa. An Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of Ghana Legon, on Thursday, 28th November, 1975*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1975.
- _____, "Africa and the Colonial Challenge" in *General History of Africa VII Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, edited by A. Adu Boahen, 1-19. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.
- _____, "The Historiography of Anglophone West Africa in the 1980s", in *Africa in the Twentieth Century. The Adu Boahen Reader*, edited by Toyin Falola, 625-636. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004.
- Brett, Michael. "Review: The Unesco History: Volume Two." *The Journal of African History* 23 no.1 (1982): 117-20.
- Cabral, Amilcar. *United and Struggle. Speeches and Writings*. London: Heinemann, 1980.
- Chinweizu. *Decolonising the African Mind*. Lagos: Pero Press, 1987.
- Cohen, William B. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa. Volume 7, African under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935 by A. Adu Boahen." *The American Historical Review* 92:3 (1987): 716-7.
- Curtin, P.D. "Recent trends in African historiography and their contribution to history in general", In *General History of Africa I: Methodology*

and *African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 54-71. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

_____, "African Studies: A Personal Assessment." *African Studies Review* 14 no.3 (1971): 357-68.

_____, "Ghettoizing African History" *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (1995).

_____, *On the Fringe of History. A memoir*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005.

Darwin, J.G. "Reviewed Work(s): The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 8, c. 1940-c.1975 by Michael Crowder." *African Affairs* 86 no.342 (1987): 117-18.

Davidson, Basil. "Review: General History of Africa by UNESCO." *Third World Quarterly* 3 no.3 (July 1981): 559-60.

Devisse, Jean. "Apport de l'archéologie à l'historien de l'Afrique" in *L'archéologie du Cameroun, Actes du premier colloque international de Yaoundé, 6-9 Janvier 1986*, edited by Joseph-Marie Essomba, 14-34. Paris: Karthala, 1992.

Diagne, Pathé. "Une nouvelle image du Professeur Africain." *Présence Africaine* 173 no.1 (2006): 23-26.

Dike, K. Onwuka. *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830-1885. An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. "Origins of the ancient Egyptians" in *General History of Africa II. Ancient Civilizations of Africa*, edited by G. Mokhtar, 27-57. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

_____, *Antériorité des Civilisations Nègres: mythe ou vérité historique?* Paris: Présence Africaine, 1967.

_____, *Nations, nègres et culture: de l'Antiquité nègre égyptienne aux problèmes culturels de l'Afrique noire d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1954.

_____, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. Edited and translated by Mercer Cook. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974.

_____, *Unité culturelle de l'Afrique noire*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1960.

Diop, Maïhemout in collaboration with David Birmingham, Ivan Hrbek, Alfredo Margarido and Djibril Tamsir Niane. "Tropical and equatorial Africa under French, Portuguese and Spanish domination, 1935-45" in *General History of Africa VIII. Africa since 1935*, edited by Ali A. Mazrui, assistant editor C. Wondji, 58-75. London: Heinemann Educational, 1993.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The World and Africa. An Inquiry into the part Africa has Played in World History*. New York: The Viking Press, 1946.

Duodu, Cameron. "The man who rescued African history." *New African*, July: 60-63 (2006)

Ehret, Christopher. "Reviewed Work(s): UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. I: Methodology and African Prehistory by J. Ki-Zerbo." *African Studies Review* 24 no.4 (1981): 133-4.

El Fasi, M. and I. Hrbek. "The coming of Islam and the expansion of the Muslim empire" in *General History of Africa III. Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, edited by M. El Fasi, assistant editor I. Hrbek, 31-55. Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

Fage, J.D. *To Africa and Back*. Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, 2002.

_____, "The development of African historiography" in *General History of Africa I Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 25-42. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Falola, Toyin. "Professor Jacob Festus Ade-Ajayi (1929-2014): A Eulogy with a Dirge" Website African Studies Association, August 14, 2014. Accessed March 31, 2020. <http://www.africanstudies.org/news/391-professor-j-f-ade-ajayi-1929-2014>

G.S.M. "The General History of Africa: A UNESCO Project." *Cahiers D'Histoire Mondiale* 13 no.4 (1970): 527-538.

Gann, Lewis H. and Peter Duignan. *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960 Vol. 1-5*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969-1975.

Glélé, Maurice. "Appendix I: Speech by the representative of the Director-General of Unesco" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 5. The decolonization of Africa: southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The general history of Africa. Studies and documents 5*, 159-61. Paris: Unesco, 1981.

_____, *Religion, culture et politique en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1981.

Gueye, M'Baye and A. Adu Boahen. "6. African initiatives and resistance in West Africa, 1880-1914" in *General History of Africa VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, edited by A. Adu Boahen, 114-148. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

Hargreaves, J.D. "Reviewed Work(s): The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol 7: 1905 to 1940 by A.D. Roberts." *The English Historical Review* 102 no.405 (1987): 987-9.

_____, "Reviewed Work(s): UNESCO General History Vol I: Methodology and African Prehistory by J. Ki-Zerbo." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 54 no.3 (1984): 111-2.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*. Translated by Hugh Barr Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

_____, *The Philosophy of History*. Translated by J. Sibree. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956.

Hoover, J. Jeffrey. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa, Vol II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa b G. Mokhtar; The Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of Meroitic Script: Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Cairo from 28 January to 3 February 1974 by UNESCO" *African Studies Review* 24 no.4 (1981): 135-7.

Hymans, Jacques L. "Reviewed Work(s): The UNESCO General History of Africa. Volume VI: Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s by J.F. Ade Ajayi." *African Studies Review* 34 no.1 (April 1991): 140-2.

Ibrahim, H.A. based on a contribution by the late Abbas I. Ali. "4. African initiatives and resistance in North-East Africa" in *General History of Africa VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, edited by A. Adu Boahen, 63-86. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

_____, "Ajayi and the UNESCO General History of Africa" in *J.F. Ade Ajayi: His Life and Career*, edited by Akinjide Osuntokun and Tunji Oloruntimehin, 350-7. Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2014.

Ikime, Obaro, ed. *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.

Kagame, Alexis. *Un Abrégé de L'Ethno-Histoire du Rwanda. Tome Premier*. Butare: Éditions universitaires du Rwanda, 1972.

Ki-Zerbo, J. "Editorial note: theories on the 'races' and history of Africa" in *General History of Africa I Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 261-70. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Ki-Zerbo, Joseph. *Histoire de l'Afrique Noire*. Paris: Hatier, 1972.

_____, "General Introduction" in *General History of Africa I Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 1-24. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

_____, "Histoire et conscience nègre." *Présence Africaine* 16 (1957): 53-69.

Kimambo, I.N. *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar Es Salaam*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 1993.

_____, "Historical Research in Mainland Tanzania" in *Expanding Horizons in African Studies*, edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and Ann Paden, 75-90. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969.

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa, Vol I: Methodology and African Prehistory by J. Ki-Zerbo; General History of Africa, Vol. II, Ancient Civilizations of Africa by G. Mokhtar." *The English Historical Review* 99 no.391 (April 1984): 461-2.

Lange, Dierk. *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa: Africa-centred and Canaanite-Israelite Perspectives*. Dettelbach: J.H. Roll, 2004.

Laroui, A. "5. African initiatives and resistance in North Africa and the Sahara" in *General History of Africa VII. Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, edited by A. Adu Boahen, 87-114. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

Lecant, J. "The Empire of Kush: Napata and Meroe" in *General History of Africa II. Ancient Civilizations of Africa*, edited by G. Mokhtar, 278-298. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 11. Libya Antiqua. Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Paris, 16 to 18 January 1984. Paris: Unesco, 1986.

Lobban, Richard. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa, IV: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century by D.T. Niane." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18 no.3 (1985): 551-2.

M'Bow, Amadou-Mahtar. "Preface" In *The General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, xvii-xxi. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Mazrui, A. A. and T. Wagaw. "Towards decolonizing modernity: education and cultural conflict in Eastern Africa" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9, Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*, 35-62. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

_____, "Dilemmas of African historiography and the philosophy of the Unesco *General History of Africa*" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and documents 8. The methodology of contemporary African history. Report and papers of the meeting of experts organized by Unesco at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, from 17 to 22 May 1979*, 15-26. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

_____, "Introduction" in *General History of Africa VIII. Africa since 1935*, edited by Ali A. Mazrui, assistant editor C. Wondji, 1-25. Paris: UNESCO, 1993.

_____, *The Africans: a triple heritage*. London: BBC Publications, 1986.

McCaskie, T.C. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa, VII: African under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935 by A. Adu Boahen." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 57 no.3 (1987): 401-3.

_____, "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa: Volume IV. Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century by D.T. Niane." *African Studies Review* 28 no.4 (1985): 109-11.

McCracken, John. "Review: The Partition. Reviewed Work(s): Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 6, c. 1870-1905 by Roland Oliver and G.N. Sanderson." *The Journal of African History*, 28 no.2 (1987): 301-3.

McDougall, E. Ann. "Review: The Sands of Time. Reviewed Work(s): UNESCO General History of Africa, Volume VI: Africa in the Nine-

teenth Century Until the 1880s by J.F. Ade Ajayi.” *Journal of African History* 35 no.2 (1994): 314-16.

Miller, Joseph C. “Review: History and Archaeology in Africa. Reviewed Work(s): The Cambridge History of Africa I: From the Earliest Times to c. 500 BC By J. Desmond Clark; General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Prehistory by Joseph Ki-Zerbo; General History of Africa II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa by G. Mokthar.” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 no.2 (1985): 291-303.

_____, “Reviewed Work(s): General History Africa. IV: Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century by Djibril Tamsir Niane.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 no.3 (1987): 698-700.

Montagu, A. *Statement on race: an annotated elaboration and exposition of the four statements on race issued by the United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organization*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972.

Mutongi, Kenda and Martin Klein. “In Memoriam: Joseph C. Miller (1939-2019)” *Perspectives on History. The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association* 20-05-2019. Accessed on 15-5-2020. [https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2019/joseph-c-miller-\(1939%E2%80%932019\)](https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2019/joseph-c-miller-(1939%E2%80%932019))

Niane, D.T. “Introduction”, in *General History of Africa IV Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, edited by D. T. Niane, 1-14. Paris: UNESCO, 1983.

_____, *Soundjata ou L'Épopée Mandingue*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1960.

Niang, Mangoné. “Le veilleur de jour.” *Présence Africaine* 173 no.1 (2006): 21-22.

Nkrumah, Kwame. *Ghana. An Autobiography*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1957.

N.N., *A Book of Tributes for Emeritus Professor Jacob Festus Ade Ajayi*. Ibadan: University of Lagos Press and Jadeas Trust, 2014.

N.N. “Écrire L'Histoire de L'Afrique Après Ki-Zerbo.” *Présence Africaine* 173 no.1 (2006): 5-8.

N.N. “Editorial: Professor Emeritus Albert Adu Boahen (1932-2006)” *The Journal of African History* 47 no.3 (2006): 359-61.

N.N. "Contents" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9, Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

N.N. "Final Report of the symposium" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9. Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*, 129-44. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

N.N. "General Discussion" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 5. The decolonization of Africa: southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The general history of Africa. Studies and documents 5*, 143-6. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

N.N. "Report of the meeting of experts on the methodology of contemporary African history", in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 8. The methodology of contemporary African history. Reports and papers of the meeting of experts organized by Unesco at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, from 17 to 22 May 1979*, 161-94. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

N.N. "Southern Africa" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 5. The decolonization of Africa: southern Africa and the Horn of Africa*, 147-51. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

N.N. "Symposium on the Peopling of Ancient Egypt. A report on the discussions" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 2. The Peopling of ancient Egypt and the deciphering of Meroitic script. Proceeding of the Symposium held in Cairo from 28 January to 3 February 1974*, 73-103. Paris: UNESCO, 1978.

N.N. "UVA Law's Goluboff, History's Miller Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences." *UVA Today* 18-04-2019. Accessed on 15-5-2020. <https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-laws-goluboff-historys-miller-elected-american-academy-arts-and-sciences>.

A Book of Tributes for Emeritus Professor Jacob Festus Ade Ajayi. Ibadan: University of Lagos Press and Jadeas Trust, 2014.

Ogot, B., "Description of the Project" in *General History of Africa I Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, xxiii-xxv. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

_____. *History of the Southern Luo*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.

_____, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*. Kisumu: Ayange Press Limited, 2003.

_____, "Some approaches to African History" in *Hadith I, Proceedings of the annual conference of the Historical Association of Kenya 1967*, edited by Bethwell A. Ogot, 1-10. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

_____. "Three decades of historical studies in East Africa: 1949-77" in *The General History of Africa. Studies and Documents 9, Educational Processes in Africa and Historiography. Final Report and papers of the symposium organized by Unesco in Dakar (Senegal) from 25 to 29 January 1982*, 63-79. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

_____, "20. The Great Lakes region" 496-524, 499, in *The General History of Africa IV. Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*, edited by D.T. Niane, 496-524. Paris: UNESCO, 1984.

Olderogge, D. "Migrations and ethnic and linguistic differentiations" in *General History of Africa I Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 270-86. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

Oliver, Roland. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa Vol. V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century by B. A. Ogot." *The English Historical Review* 108 no.428 (1993): 681-3.

Osuntokun, Akinjide and Tunji Oloruntimehin. "J.F. Ade Ajayi and His Intellectual Contribution to the Study of History" in *J.F. Ade Ajayi: His Life and Career*, edited by Akinjide Osuntokun and Tunji Oloruntimehin, 293-305. Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2014.

Peel, J. D. Y. "J. F. Ade Ajayi: A Memorial." *Africa* 85 no.4 (2015): 745-49.

Phillipson, David W. "Review: The Unesco History: Volume One. Reviewed Work(s): "UNESCO General History of Africa. Vol I: Methodology and African Prehistory by J. Ki-Zerbo." *The Journal of African History* 23 no.1 (1982): 115-6.

Pouwels, Randall L. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa. Volume 5, Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century by B. A. Ogot." *The American Historical Review* 99 no.4 (1994): 1371-2.

Ranger, Terence. "Review: The People in African Resistance: A Review." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4 no.1 (1977): 125-146.

_____, "Towards a Usable African Past", In *African Studies since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*, edited by Christopher Fyfe, 17-29. London: Longman Group United, 1976.

Rathbone, Richard. "Reviewed Work(s): The UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. VIII: Africa since 1935 by Ali A. Mazrui." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 28 no.1 (1995): 182-4.

Ross, Robert. "The Mountain has Gone into Labour." *Itinerario* VI (1982): 149-52.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. "Orphée Noir" *Présence Africaine* 6 (1949): 9-14.

Saunders, Christopher. "The General History of Africa and Southern Africa's Recent Past." *Présence Africaine* 173 (2006): 117-26.

Schoenbrun, David. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa II, Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century by I.Hrbek." *The History Teacher* 27 no.2 (1994): 233-5.

Seck, Assane. "Un nationaliste sans concession." *Présence Africaine* 173 no.1 (2006): 37-44.

Seligman, C.G. *Races of Africa*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930.

Shaw, Thurstan. "Review: African Beginnings. Reviewed Work(s) The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol I: From the Earliest Times to c. 500 B.C. by J. Desmond Clark." *The Journal of African History* 24 no.1 (1983): 105-8.

Shinnie, Peter L. and B. Jewsiewicki. "Review: The UNESCO History Project / L'Histoire-monument ou l'histoire conscience. Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa, Vol. 1 by UNESCO and J. Ki-Zerbo; General History of Africa II, Ancient Civilizations of Africa by G. Mokthar." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 15 no.3 (1981): 539-51.

Thornton, John. "Reviewed Work(s): General History of Africa: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century by B.A. Ogot." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26 no.3 (1993): 654-5.

Tirmizi, S.A.I. *Indian Sources for African History*. Delhi: International Writers Emporium and UNESCO, 1988.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. *The rise of Christian Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965.

UNESCO, *preparation of a general history of Africa*. Paris: UNESCO, 1983.

UNESCO. *Records of the General Conference. Thirteenth Session, Resolutions, Paris 1964*. Paris: UNESCO, 1965.

Vansina, J. "Oral tradition and its methodology" in *General History of Africa I. Methodology and African Prehistory*, edited by J. Ki-Zerbo, 142-66. Paris: UNESCO, 1981.

_____, "Population movements and emergence of new socio-political forms in Africa" in *General History of Africa V. Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, edited by B.A. Ogot, 46-72. Paris: Heinemann/UNESCO, 1992.

_____, "De Vita Sua", *Society* 53 (2016, published online 4-4-2016): 240-5.

_____, "Epilogue: Fieldwork in History." in *In Pursuit of History. Fieldwork in Africa*, edited by Carolyn Keyes Adenaike and Jan Vansina. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996.

_____, "Knowledge and Perceptions of the African Past", in *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?*, edited by Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury, 28-41. London: Sage Publications, 1986.

_____, "Review: The Cambridge History of Africa. Reviewed Work(s): The Cambridge History of Africa by J.D. Fage and R. Oliver; Volume 4 c. 1600 to c. 1790 by Richard Gray." *Journal of African History* 17 no.3 (1976): 441-445.

_____, "Unesco and African historiography." *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 337-52.

_____, *De la tradition orale: essai de méthode historique*. Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961.

_____, *Living With Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

_____, *Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology*. Translated by H.M. Wright. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

_____, *Paths in the Rainforest. Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

Wagner, Michele D. "Obituary - Jan Vansina (14 September 1929 - 8 February 2017)" *History in Africa* 44 (2017): 5-9.

Wainaina, Binyavanga. "How to Write About Africa" *Granta* 92 (2005)

Wilks, Ivor. "Reviewed Work(s): UNESCO General History of Africa. Volume I: Methodology and African Prehistory by J. Ki-Zerbo; UNESCO General History of Africa. Volume II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa by G. Mokthar." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15 no.2 (1982): 283-5.

Wright, Donald R. "Reviewed Work(s): Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries. Volume IV of General History of Africa by D.T. Niane." *Canadian Journal of African / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 20 no.1 (1986): 133-5.

Secondary Literature

Abir-Am, Pnina G. "Introduction" in *Commemorative Practices in Science: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Collective Memory*, edited by Pnina G. Abir-Am and Clark A. Elliot, 1-33. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Achebe, Chinua. *Africa's Tarnished Name*. London: Penguin Random House Uk, 2018.

_____, *An Image of Africa*. London: Penguin Books, 2010.

Ade Ajayi, J.F., Lameck K.H. Goma and G. Ampah Johnson. *The African Experience with Higher Education*. Accra: The Association of African Universities, 1996.

Adejunmobi, Moradewun. "Disruptions of Orality in the Writings of Hampaté Bâ." *Research in African Literatures* 31 no.3 (2000): 28-36.

Adem, Seifudein. "Ali A. Mazrui, the Postcolonial Theorist." *African Studies Review* 57 no.1 (2014): 135-152.

Adesina, Olutayo C. "Teaching History in Twentieth Century Nigeria: The Challenges of Change." *History in Africa* 33 (2006): 17-37.

Adi, Hakim. *Pan-Africanism a History*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

Afigbo, A.E. "Colonial Historiography" in *African Historiography. Essays in honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, edited by Toyin Falola, 39-52. Burnt Mill: Longman, 1993.

_____, "Oral tradition and the history of segmentary societies" *History in Africa* 12 (1985): 1-10.

_____, "The Ibadan School of History: A comment" in *Myth, History & Society, The Collected Works of Adiele Afigbo*, edited by Toyin Falola, 495-504. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006.

Afoláyan, Michael O. "Introduction" in *Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa. Paradigms of Development Decline and Dilemmas*, edited by Michael O. Afoláyan, 1-16. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007.

_____, ed. *Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa. Paradigms of Development, Decline and Dilemmas*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007.

Ake, Claude. "Academic Freedom and Material Base" in *Academic Freedom in Africa*, edited by Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani, 17-25. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1997.

Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O. "A. Adu Boahen", in *The Dark Webs. Perspectives on Colonialism in Africa*, edited by Toyin Falola, 379-99. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005.

Albert, Isaac O. "University Students in the Politics of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria" in *Between Liberation and Oppression. The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa*, edited by Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi, 364-393. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995.

Allman, Jean M. "#HerskovitsMustFall? A Meditation on Whiteness, African Studies, and the Unfinished Business of 1968." *African Studies Review* 62 no.3 (2019): 6-39.

_____, "Kwame Nkrumah, African Studies, and the Politics of Knowledge Production in the Black Star of Africa." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013): 181-203.

Amrith, Sunil and Sluga, Glenda. "New Histories of the United Nations" *Journal of World History* 19 no.3 (2008): 251-274.

Amselle, Jean-Loup. "Ethnies et espaces: pour une anthropologie topologique" in *Au cœur de l'ethnie : ethnies, tribalisme et État en Afrique*, edited by Jean-Loup Amselle and Elikia M'Bokolo, 11-48. Paris: La Découverte, 1985.

Andersen, Casper. "'Scientific independence', capacity building, and the development of UNESCO's science and technology agenda for Africa." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines* 50 no.3 (2017): 379-394.

_____, "UNESCO's General History of Africa, memory and the quest for relevance" in *Memory, Commemoration and the Politics of Historical Memory in Africa: Essays in Memory of Jan-Georg Deutsch*, edited by Cassandra Mark-Thiesen, Moritz Mihatsch and Michelle Sikes. Melton: James Curry, forthcoming 2022.

Anderson, Warwick. "Decolonizing Histories in Theory and Practice: An Introduction", *History and Theory* 59 no.3 (2020): 369-75.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *In My Father's House*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Archambault, Caroline S. "Human Rights" in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, edited by Hillary Callan and Simon Coleman. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2018.

Asante, Molefi Kete, *The Afrocentric Idea*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S. "From African Historiographies to an African Philosophy of History", *Afrika Zamani* 7/8 (1999-2000): 41-89.

Austen, Ralph A. "Africanist historiography and its critics: can there be an autonomous African History" in *African Historiography. Essays in honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, edited by Toyin Falola, 203-17. Harlow: Longman, 1993.

Beaujard, Philippe. *The Worlds of the Indian Ocean. Volume 2: From the Seventh Century to the Fifteenth Century CE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Becker, Tobias. "The Meanings of Nostalgia: Genealogy and Critique." *History and Theory* 57 no.2 (2018): 234-250.

Bedasse, Monique A. *Jah Kingdom: Rastafarians, Tanzania, and Pan-Africanism in the Age of Decolonization*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

Behm, Amanda et al. "History on the Line. Decolonizing History: Enquire and Practice", *History Workshop Journal* 89 (2020): 169-91.

Bennett, Alastair. *The Geography of Nostalgia. Global and Local Perspectives on Modernity and Loss*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Bennett, Judith M. "Feminism and History." *Gender & History* 1 no.3 (1989): 251-272.

Berger, Stefan. "Introduction. Historical Writing and Civic Engagement" in *The Engaged Historian: Perspectives on the Intersections of Politics, Activism and the Historical Profession* edited by Stefan Berger, 1-31. New York: Berghahn books, 2019.

_____, *Writing the nation: a global perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena: the Afroasiatic roots of classical civilization. Vol. 1 The fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987.

Betts, Paul. "Humanity's New Heritage: UNESCO and the Rewriting of World History." *Past and Present* 228 no.1 (2015): 249-285.

Betts, Raymond F. "Decolonisation. A brief history of the word" in *Beyond Empire and Nation. The Decolonization of African and Asian societies, 1930s-1970s*, edited by Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, 23-37. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

_____, "Decolonisation. A brief history of the word" in *Beyond Empire and Nation. The Decolonization of African and Asian societies, 1930s-1970s*, edited by Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, 23-37. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Bhambra, Gurminder K., Kerem Niñancioñlu and Dalia Gebrial. *Decolonising the University*. London: Pluto Press, 2018.

Biney, Ama. *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.

Boele van Hensbroek, Pieter. "Philosophy of Nationalism in Africa" in *The Palgrave Handbook of African Philosophy*, edited by A. Afolayan and T. Falola, 405-16. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Bondarenko, Dmitri M. "Dmitri Olderogge and his place in the history of Russian African anthropology." *Social Anthropology* 13 no. 2 (2005-6): 215-20.

Bosch, Mineke. "Scholarly Personae and Twentieth-Century Historians: Explorations of a Concept" *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131 no.4 (2016): 33-54.

Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Bozzoli, Belina and Peter Delius. "Radical History and South African Society" in *History from South Africa. Alternative Visions and Practices*, edited by Joshua Brown, Patrick Manning, Karin Shapiro, Jon Wiener, Belinda Bozzoli and Peter Delius, 3-25. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Brattain, M. "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public." *The American Historical Review* 112 no.5 (2007): 1386-1413.

Bridges, Will. "A Brief History of the Inhumanities." *History of Humanities* 4:1 (2019): 1-26: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/701981>

Brizuela-Garcia, Esperanza. "African Historiography and the Crisis of Institutions" in *The Study of Africa. Volume I. Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters*, edited by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, 135-67. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2006.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.

Burguière, André. *The Annales School. An Intellectual History*. Translated by Timothy Tackett. New York: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Burke, Peter. *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929-2014*. Cambridge: Polity, 2015.

Callaci, Emily. "On Acknowledgements." *The American Historical Review* 125 no.1 (2020): 126-131.

Camara, Babacar. "The Falsity of Hegel's Theses on Africa." *Journal of Black Studies* 36 no.1 (2005): 82-96.

Carney, J.J. *Rwanda Before the Genocide. Catholic Priests and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "In Defense of "Provincializing Europe": A Response to Carola Dietze" *History and Theory* 47 no.1 (2008): 85-96.

_____, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chrétien, J.P. "Mythes et stratégies autour des origines du Rwanda (XIXe-XXe siècles)" in *Histoire d'Afrique : les enjeux de mémoire*, edited by J.P. Chrétien and J.L. Triaud, 281-320. Paris: Karthala, 1999.

_____, *The Great Lakes of Africa. Two Thousand Years of History*. Translated by Scott Straus. New York: Zone Books, 2003.

Coate, Roger A. *Unilateralism, ideology and US foreign policy: the United States in and out of UNESCO*. London: Lynne Rienner, 1989.

Conrad, Sebastian. *German Colonialism. A Short History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

_____, *What is Global History?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Cooper, Frederick. "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *The American Historical Review* 99 no.5 (1994): 1516-1545.

_____, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. "African Historiography in Africa South of the Sahara" *Revue Tiers Monde* 216 (2013): 111-127.

_____, "Cheikh Anta Diop et l'Histoire Africaine." *Le Débat* 208 (2020): 178-190.

_____, "Présence Africaine: History and Historians of Africa" in *The Surreptitious Speech. Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947-1987*, edited by Valentin Mudimbe, 59-94. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Corcoran, Patrick. *Griot*, in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, edited by Peter France. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995 [2005].

- Corneanu, Sorana. *Regimens of the Mind. Boyle, Locke, and the Early modern Cultura Animi Tradition*. London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Cranford Pratt, R. "African Universities and Western Tradition – Some East Africa Reflections" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 no.3. (1965): 421-8.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. *On Intersectionality*. New York: The New Press, 2017.
- Creyghton, Camille, et al. "Virtue language in historical scholarship: the cases of Georg Waitz, Gabriel Monod and Henri Pirenne." *History of European Ideas* 42 no.7 (2016): 924-36.
- Dahlberg, Julia. "Gifts of Nature? Inborn Personal Qualities and Their Relation to Personae?" in *Gender, Embodiment, and the History of the Scholarly Persona. Incarnations and Contestations*, edited by Kirsti Niskanen and Michael J. Barany, 181-214. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Darwin, John. *Britain and decolonization: The retreat from empire in the post-war world*. Macmillan: London, 1988.
- Daston, Lorraine and H. Otto Sibum. "Introduction: Scientific Personae and Their Histories" *Science in Context* 16 no.1-2 (2003): 1-8.
- _____, "Objectivity and Impartiality. Epistemic Virtues in the Humanities" in *The Making of the Humanities III: The Modern Humanities*, edited by Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn, 27-42. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.
- Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic. *Critical Race Theory. An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press, 2017.
- Derricourt, Robbin. *Inventing Africa: History, Archaeology and Ideas*. New York: Pluto Press, 2011.
- Devisch, René. "The University of Kinshaha: From Lovanium to Unikin" in *Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa. Paradigms of Development, Decline and Dilemmas*, edited by Michael O. Afoláyan, 17-38. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007.

Devisse, Jean. "DIOP Cheikh Anta – (1923–1986)" in *Encyclopedia Universalis*, <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/cheikh-anta-diop>. Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis, 1987.

Diouf, Mamadou and Mohamad Mbodj. "The Shadow of Cheikh Anta Diop", in *The Surreptitious Speech. Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947–1987*, edited by V.Y. Mudimbe, 118–35. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Doortmont, Michel R. *Recapturing the past. Samuel Johnson and the construction of the history of the Yoruba* Rotterdam: PhD Diss. Erasmus University Rotterdam, 1994.

Droit, Roger-Pol. *Humanity in the Making: Overview of the Intellectual History of UNESCO, 1945–2005*. Paris: UNESCO, 2005.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1903.

Duara, Prasenjit, ed. *Decolonization: Perspectives From Now and Then*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Duedahl, Poul, ed. *A History of UNESCO Global Actions and Impacts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.

_____, "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945–1976." *Journal of World History* 22 no.1 (2011): 101–133.

Echterhölter, Anna. *Schattengefächte: Genealogische Praktiken in Nachrufen auf Naturwissenschaftler (1710–1860)* Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2012.

Eckert, Andreas. "Auf der Suche nach der 'wahren' Geschichte Afrikas: Die UNESCO General History of Africa," *Periplus. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 5 (1995): 178–83.

Engberts, Christiaan and Herman Paul. "Scholarly Vices: Boundary Work in Nineteenth-Century Orientalism" in *Epistemic Virtues in the Sciences and the Humanities*, edited by Jeroen van Dongen and Herman Paul, 79–90. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.

Eltringham, Nigel. "Invaders who have stolen the country': The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race and the Rwandan Genocide." *Social Identities* 12 no.4 (2006): 425–446.

Facius, Michael. "A Rankean Moment in Japan: The Persona of the Historian and the Globalization of the Discipline c. 1900" *Modern Intellectual History* (2020) doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479244320000335>.

Falk Moore, Sally. "Changing Perspectives on a Changing Africa: The Work of Anthropology" in *Africa and the disciplines: the contributions of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities* edited by Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe and Jean O'Barr, 3-57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Falola, Toyin and Saheed Aderinto, *Nigeria, Nationalism, and Writing History*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011.

_____, "Adu Boahen: An Introduction" in *Ghana in Africa and the World. Essays in Honor of Adu Boahen*, edited by Toyin Falola, 3-18. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003.

_____, "Nationalism and African Historiography" in: *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers, 209-236. Rochester: The University of Rochester Press, 2002.

_____, *Decolonizing African Studies: Epistemologies, Methodologies and Agencies*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, forthcoming.

_____, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001.

Fanon, Frantz. *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: Maspero, 1961.

_____, *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. Paris: Seuil, 1952.

Fauvelle, François-Xavier. *The Golden Rhinoceros. Histories of the African Middle Ages*. Translated by Troy Trice. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Feierman, Steven. "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History" in *Africa and the Disciplines. The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities*, edited by Robert H. Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe and Jean O'Barr, 167-212. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Filatova, Irina. "Anti-Colonialism in Soviet African Studies (1920s-1960)" in *The Study of Africa. Volume 2: Global and Transnational En-*

gagements, edited by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, 203-34. Dakar: CODES-RIA, 2007.

Fraiture, Pierre-Philippe. *V. Y. Mudimbe. Undisciplined Africanism*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

Franklin, Cynthia G. *Academic lives memoir; cultural theory, and the university today*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. London: Penguin Random house, 2017[1970].

Friedrich, Markus, Philipp Müller and Michael Riordan. "Practices of Historical Research in Archives and Libraries from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Century" *History of Humanities* 2 no.1 (2017): 3-13.

Fuglestad, Finn. "The Trevor-Roper Trap or the Imperialism of History. An Essay" *History in Africa* 19 (1992): 309-326.

Garuba, Harry. "African Studies, Area Studies, and the Logic of the Disciplines", in *African Studies in the Post-colonial University*, edited by Thandabantu Nhlapo and Harry Garuba, 39-54. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2012.

Gates Jr, Henry Louis. "W.E.B Du Bois and the Encyclopedia Africana, 1909-1963." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 no.1 (2000): 203-219.

Gemelli, Giuliana. *Fernand Braudel*. Translated by Brigitte Pasquet and Béatrice Propetto Marzi. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 1995.

Gershenvorn, Jerry. *Melville J. Herskovits and the Racial Politics of Knowledge*. London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire. The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2019.

Gewald, Jan-Bart. "On the Fringes of History: A Memoir," by Philip D. Curtin." *Africa Today* 53 no.2 (2006): 115-117.

Gieryn, Thomas. "Boundary-Work and The Demarcation of Science From Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists." *American Sociological Review* 48 no.6 (1983): 781-795.

Gifford, Prosser and Roger Louis, Wm., ed. *The transfer of power in Africa; Decolonization 1940-1960*. Yale University Press: New Haven, 1982.

Ginzburg, Carlo. "Distance and Perspective: Reflections on Two Metaphors" in *Historians and Social Values*, edited by Joep Leerssen and Ann Rigney, 19-33. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000.

Giton, Céline. "Weapons of Mass Distribution: UNESCO and the Impact of Books" in *A History of UNESCO. Global Actions and Impacts*, edited by Poul Duedahl, 49-72. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Goldenberg, David M. *The Curse of Ham. Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Gopal, Priyamvada. *Insurgent Empire. Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*. London: Verso Books, 2019.

Gordon, Jacob U. "Toward an African Historiography" in *African Studies and Knowledge Production*, edited by Stephen Owoahene-Acheampong, 17-29. Accra: Sub-saharan Publishers, 2013.

Graebner, Seth. *History's Place. Nostalgia and the City in French Algerian Literature*. New York: Lexington Books, 2007.

Grilli, Mateo and Frank Gerits. "Introduction" in *Visions of African Unity. New Perspectives on the History of Pan-Africanism and African Unification Projects*, edited by Matteo Grilli and Frank Gerits, 1-20. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

_____, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism. Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Grimal, Henri. *La décolonisation de 1919 à nos jours*. Editions Complexe: Brussels, 1985 [1965].

Gruesser, John Cullen. *Black on Black. Twentieth-Century African American Writing about Africa*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

Guesmi, Haytem. "The Gentrification of African Studies," Africa is a Country. Last modified December 12, 2018. <https://africasacountry.com/2018/12/the-gentrification-of-african-studies>.

Hargreaves, John D. *Decolonization in Africa*. London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1988.

Haskell, Thomas L. "Objectivity is not Neutrality: Rhetoric vs. Practice in Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream*." *History and Theory* 29 no.2 (1990): 129-157.

_____, "Review article. Objectivity: Perspective as Problem and Solution." *History and Theory* 43 no.3 (2004): 341-359.

Haynes, Christine. "Reassessing "Genius" in Studies of Authorship. The State of the Discipline" *Book History* 1 no.8 (2015): 287-320.

Henige, David. *Oral Historiography*. London: Longman, 1982.

Herskovits, Melville. "Statement of Human Rights." *American Anthropologist* 49 no.4 (1947): 539-43.

Hesketh, Ian. "Diagnosing Froude's Disease: Boundary Work and the Discipline of History in Late-Victorian Britain." *History and Theory* 47 no.3 (2008): 373-95.

Hewlett, Lynn et al. "Key Features of Student Protest Across Historical Periods in Sub-Saharan Africa" in *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*, edited by Susan Booysen, 330-4. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016.

Hicks, Daniel J. and Stapleford, Thomas A. "The Virtues of Scientific Practice: MacIntyre, Virtue Ethics, and the Historiography of Science" *Isis* 107 no.3 (2016) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1086/688346>

Hill, Roland. *Lord Acton*. Yale University Press: New Haven, 2000.

Houtondji, Paulin J. "Knowledge of Africa, Knowledge by Africans: Two Perspectives on African Studies" *RCCS Annual Review* 1 (2009): 121-31.

Huber, Marie. *Developing Heritage – Developing Countries. Ethiopian Nation-Building and the Origins of UNESCO World Heritage, 1960-1980*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021.

Valderrama Martínez, Fernando. *A History of UNESCO*. UNESCO: Paris, 1995.

Huistra, Pieter. *Bouwmeesters, zedenmeesters. Geschiedbeoefening in Nederland tussen 1830 en 1870*. Nijmegen: Uitgeverij van Tilt, 2019.

Ibikunle Tijani, Hakeem. "Ade Ajayi and the Pedagogy of Teaching and Learning about African History" in *J.F. Ade Ajayi. His Life and Career*, edited by Michael Omolewa and Akinjide Osuntokun, 358-72. Ibadan: Bookcraft.

Iggers, Georg G. and Edward Q. Wang. *A Global History of Modern Historiography*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008.

Iliffe, John. *A modern history of Tanganyika*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Imber, Mark F. *The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: politicization and withdrawal in the specialized agencies*. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Immerwahr, John. "Hume's Revised Racism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53 no.3 (1992): 481-6.

Iniesta, Ferran. "À propos de l'École de Dakar Modernité et tradition dans l'oeuvre de Cheikh Anta Diop" in *Le Sénégal contemporain*, edited by Momar-Coumba Diop, 92-107. Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2002.

Jansen, Jonathan D. ed. *Decolonisation in Universities. The Politics of Knowledge*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019.

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil and David Newbury ed. *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?* London: Sage Publications, 1986.

_____, and V.Y. Mudimbe. "Africans' Memories and Contemporary History of Africa" *History and Theory* 32 no.4 (1993): 1-11.

_____, "African Historical Studies Academic Knowledge as 'Usable Past' and Radical Scholarship." *African Studies Review* 32 no.3 (1989): 1-76.

_____, "Présence Africaine as Historiography: Historicity of Societies and Specificity of Black African Culture" in *The Surreptitious Speech. Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947-1987*, edited by Valentin Mudimbe, 95-117. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

- Johnson, Thomas H. "Culture Relativism: Interpretations of a Concept." *Anthropological Quarterly* 80 no.3 (2007): 791-802.
- Kapteijns, Lidwien. *African Historiography written by Africans, 1955-1973: The Nigerian Case*. Amsterdam: PhD Diss. University of Amsterdam, 1977.
- Keto, C. Tsehloane. *The Africa Centered Perspective of History and Social Sciences in the Twenty First Century*. Blackwood: K.A. Publications, 1989.
- Kirk-Greene, Anthony. "The Emergence of an Africanist Community in the UK" in *The British Intellectual Engagement with Africa in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Douglas Rimmer and Anthony Kirk-Greene, 11-40. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000.
- Ki-Zerbo, Joseph. "African intellectuals, nationalism and pan-Africanism: a testimony" in *African Intellectuals. Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*, edited by Thandika Mkandawire, 78-93. New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- Kokole, Omari, ed. *The Global African. A portrait of Ali. A. Mazrui*. Trenton: Africa world press, 1996.
- Kouamé, Nathalie, Éric P. Meyer and Anne Viguier ed. *Encyclopédie des Historiographies: Afriques, Amériques, Asies. Volume 1 : sources et genres historiques (Tome 1 et Tome 2)* Paris: Presses de l'Inalco, 2020.
- Krebs, Edgardo C. "Popularizing Anthropology, Combating Racism: Alfred Métraux at *The UNESCO Courier*" in *A History of UNESCO. Global Actions and Impact*, edited by Poul Duedahl, 29-48. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Law, Robin. "The "Hamitic Hypothesis" in Indigenous West African Historical Thought." *History in Africa* 36 (2009): 293-314.
- Lazarus, Neil. "The fetish of the "the West" in postcolonial theory" in *Marxism, modernity, and postcolonial studies*, edited by Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus, 43-63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Lefkowitz, Mary R. *Black Athena revisited*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Lentz, Carola. "'Tribalism' and ethnicity in Africa. A review of four decades of Anglophone research." *Cahiers de sciences humaines* 31 no.2 (1995): 303-328.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Race et Histoire*. Paris: Unesco, 1952.

Lorcin, Patricia M.E. "The Nostalgias for Empire." *History and Theory* 57 no.2 (2018): 269-285.

Lovejoy, Paul. "The Ibadan school of historiography and its critics" in *African Historiography Essays in honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, edited by Toyin Falola. Harlow: Longman, 1993.

Luard, Evan. *A History of the United Nations. Volume 2: The Age of Decolonization, 1955-1965*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1989.

MacGaffey, Wyatt. *Kongo Political Culture: The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Maddox, Gregory H. "The Dar es Salaam school of African History" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African historiography: Methods and Sources*, edited by Thomas Spear, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.314>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Mafeje, Archie. "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 9 no.2 (1971): 253-61.

Mamdani, Mahmood. "Introduction: The Quest for Academic Freedom" in *Academic Freedom in Africa*, edited by Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani, 1-16. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1997.

_____, "Introduction: The Quest for Academic Freedom" in *Academic Freedom in Africa*, edited by Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani, 1-16. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1997.

_____, *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Mapunda, Bertram B. B. "A Critical Examination of Isaria Kimambo's Ideas Through Time." *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 269-79.

Martin, Guy. *Africa in World Politics. A Pan-African Perspective*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2002.

Martin, William G. "The Rise of African Studies (USA) and the Transnational Study of Africa." *African Studies Review* 54 no.1 (2011): 59-83.

_____, and West, Michael O. ed. *Out of One, Many Africas. Reconstructing the Study and Meaning of Africa*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Matasci, Damiano. “«Un rendez-vous africain.» L’Unesco, la fin des empires coloniaux et le plan d’Addis-Abeba (1945-1961)” *Histoire@Politique* 41 (2010): <http://www.histoire-politique.fr/index.php?numero=41&rub=dossier&item=383>

_____, “Assessing Needs, Fostering Development. UNESCO, Illiteracy and the Global Politics of Education (1945-1960)” *Comparative Education* 53 no.1 (2017): 35-53.

Mathys, Gillian. “Bringing History Back In: Past, Present, And Conflict in Rwanda and the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Journal of African History* 58 no.3 (2017): 465-87.
Matsuura, Koïchiro. “Preface”, in *History of Humanity. Scientific and Cultural Development. Volume VI The Nineteenth Century*, edited by Peter Mathias and Nikolaï Todorov. Paris: UNESCO, 2008.

Maurel, Chloé. “L’histoire générale de l’Afrique de l’unesco: Un projet coopération intellectuelle transnationale d’esprit afro-centré (1964-1999)” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 54 no.215 (2014): 715-737

_____, *Histoire de l’UNESCO: Les Trente Premières Années, 1945-1974*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010.

Mbembe, Achille. “Decolonizing the university: New directions.” *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 15 no.1 (2016): 29-45.

_____, *Critique of Black Reason*. Translated by Laurent Dubois. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

McCaskie, T.C. and John D. Fage. “Western Africa”, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/western-Africa>. Edinburgh: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020.

_____, “Exiled from History: Africa in Hegel’s Academic Practice.” *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 165-194.

McCracken, John. “African History in British Universities: Past, Present and Future.” *African Affairs* 92 no.367 (1993): 239-53.

Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Meskell, Lynn. *A Future in Ruins. UNESCO, World Heritage and the Dream of Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Mignolo, Walter. *On decoloniality: concepts, analytics, and praxis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

Miller, Joseph C. "The Wisconsin School of African History" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African Historiography: Methods and Sources*, edited by Thomas Spear. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019.

Mkandawire, Thandika and Adebayo Olukoshi. "Issues and Perspectives in the Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa" in *Between Liberation and Oppression. The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa*, edited by Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi, 1-20. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995.

Moniot, Henri. "Profile of A Historiography. Oral Tradition and Historical Research in Africa." in *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?* edited by David Newbury and Bogumil Jewsiewicki, 50-58. London: Sage, 1986.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Moyn, Samuel and Andrew Sartori, ed. *Global Intellectual History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Mudimbe, V. Y. *Autour de "la nation": leçons de civisme: introduction*. Kinshasa: Editions du Mont Noir, 1972.

Mudimbe, V.Y. et al. "Analysts" in *The Surreptitious Speech. Présence Africaine and the Politics of Otherness 1947-1987*, edited by V.Y. Mudimbe, 382-403. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

_____, *On African fault lines: Meditations on alterity politics*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013.

_____, *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988.

_____, *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Munhoz Ohara, João Rodolfo. "Virtue Language and Boundary Drawing in Modern Brazilian Historiography: a reading of Historians

of Brazil, by Francisco Iglésias.” *História da Historiografia* 12 no.30 (2019): 44-70.

Murphy, Kathryn and Anita Traninger. *The Emergence of Impartiality*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. “The Imperative of Decolonizing the Modern Westernized University” in *Decolonizing the University, Knowledge Systems and Disciplines in Africa*, edited by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Siphamandla Zondi, 27-46. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2016.

_____, and Siphamandla Zondi ed., *Decolonizing the University, Knowledge Systems and Disciplines in Africa*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2016.

_____, *Epistemic Freedom in Africa. Deprovincialization and Decolonization*. London: Routledge, 2018.

_____, *Empire Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity*. Oxford: Berghahn books, 2013.

Neale, Caroline. *Writing “Independent” History. African Historiography 1960-1980*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Newbury, David and Catharine Newbury. “Review Essay. Bringing the Peasants Back In: Agrarian Themes in the Construction and Corrosion of Statis Historiography in Rwanda.” *The American Historical Review* 105 no.3 (2000): 832-877.

_____, “Contradictions at the Heart of the Canon: Jan Vansina and the Debate over Oral Historiography in Africa, 1960-1985.” *History in Africa* 34 (2007): 213-254.

Niskanen, Kristi and Michael J. Barany. “Introduction: The Scholar Incarnate” in *Gender, Embodiment, and the History of the Scholarly Persona*, edited by Kirsti Niskanen and Michael J. Barany, 1-17. London: Palgrave macmillan, 2021.

Nkemjika Chimee, Ihewida. “African Historiography and the Challenges of European Periodization: A Historical Comments.” *TRAF0 – Blog for Transregional Research* (blog), 31 July 2019, <https://trado.hypotheses.org/11518>.

- N.N. 'Acheampong, Ignatius Kutu (1931-1979)' in *Dictionary of African Biography Volume I: Abach-Brand*, edited by Emmanuel K. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, JR, 78-9. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- N.N. "Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow", Your Dictionary, accessed 08-12-2020, <https://biography.yourdictionary.com/amadou-mahtar-m-bow>.
- N.N. "Diouldé Laya," *africulture*. Accessed 11 February 2020, <http://africultures.com/personnes/?no=29071>.
- N.N. "Western Sahara." *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series* 54 no.1 (2017): 21278.
- Nurse, Derek and Thomas Spear. *The Swahili. Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Nwaubani, Ebere. *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950-1960*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis. *Drinking from the cosmic gourd: how Amos Tutuola can change our minds*. Mankon: Langaa Research & Publishing CIG, 2017.
- Nygren, Thomas. "UNESCO Teaches History: Implementing International Understanding in Sweden" in *A History of UNESCO. Global Actions and Impacts*, edited by Poul Duedahl, 201-230. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- O'Malley, Alanna. *The Diplomacy of Decolonisation: America, Britain and the United Nations During the Congo Crisis 1960-1964*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
- Olisanwuche Esedebe, P. *Pan-Africanism. The Idea and Movement. 1776-1963*. Washington D.C: Howard University Press, 1982.
- Otterspeer, Willem, ed. *Leiden Oriental connections 1850-1940*. Leiden: Brill, 1989.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *The History of White People*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010.
- Paul, Herman. "Distance and Self-Distanciation: Intellectual Virtue and Historical Method Around 1900." *History and Theory* 50 no.4 (2011): 104-16.

_____, "Introduction: Scholarly personae: what they are and why they matter" in *How to be a Historian. Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800-2000*, edited by Herman Paul, 1-15. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2019.

_____, "Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues" *History and Theory* 50 no.1. (2011): 1-19.

_____, "The Virtues and Vices of Albert Naudé: Toward a History of Scholarly Personae" *History of the Humanities* 1 no. 2 (2016): 327-338.

_____, "What is a Scholarly Persona? Ten Theses on Virtues, Skills, and Desires." *History and Theory* 53 no.3 (2014): 348-371.

Porciani, Ilaria and Jo Tollebeek ed. *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks, and Communities of National Historiography*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Ranger, Terence. "Mirror Images – *Modes of Thought, Essays on Thinking in Western and non-Western Societies*. Edited by Robin Horton and Ruth Finnegan. Faber and Faber, 1973. Pp. 379." *The Journal of African History* 15 no.1 (1974): 147-149.

Robinson, Pearl T. "Area Studies in Search of Africa" in *The Politics of Knowledge. Area Studies and the Disciplines* edited by David Szanton, 119-183. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Ross, Travis E. "Fixing genius: the Romantic man of letters in the university era" in *How to be a Historian. Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800-2000*, edited by Herman Paul, 53-71. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2019.

Saarloos, Léjon. "Virtue and Vice in Academic Memory: Lord Acton and Charles Oman." *History of Humanities* 1 no.2 (2016): 339-54.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sanders, Edith. "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective." *The Journal of African History* 10 no.4 (1969): 521-32.

Santana Barbosa, Muryatan. "A construção da perspectiva Africana: uma história do projeto História Geral da África (Unesco). The con-

struction of the African perspective: a history of the General History of Africa project (Unesco)" *Revista Brasileira de História* 32 no.64 (2012): 211-230

_____, "The African Perspective in the General History of Africa (Unesco)" *Tempo. Niterói*. 24 no.3 (2018): 400-21.

Sawere, Chaly. "The Multiple Mazrui: Scholar, Ideologue, Philosopher and Artist." In *The Global African. A portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, edited by Omari H. Kokole, 269-90. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1998.

Schulte Nordholt, Larissa. "From Metropole to Margin in UNESCO's General History of Africa – Documents of Historiographical Decolonization in Paris and Ibadan." *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 403-412.

_____, "What is an African historian? Negotiating scholarly personae in UNESCO's *General History of Africa*", in *How to be a Historian. Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800-2000*, edited by Herman Paul, 182-201. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2019.

Schumaker, Lyn. *Africanizing Anthropology. Fieldwork, networks, and the making of cultural knowledge in Central Africa*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Scott, David. *Conscripts of Modernity. The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

_____, *Refashioning Futures. Criticism after Postcoloniality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Seth, Vanita. "The Origins of Racism. A Critique of the History of Ideas" *History and Theory* 59 no.3 (2020): 343-68.

Shapin, Steven. "Proverbial Economies: How an Understanding of Some Linguistic and Social Features of Common Sense Can Throw Light on More Prestigious Bodies of Knowledge, Science For Example." *Social Studies of Science* 31 no.5 (2001): 731-69.

_____, *Never Pure. Historical Studies of Science as if It Was Produced by People with Bodies, Situated in Time, Space, Culture, and Society, and Struggling for Credibility and Authority*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Sicherman, Carol. "Building an African Department of History at Makerere, 1950-1972." *History in Africa* (2003): 253-282.

Skalnik, Peter. "Tribe as colonial category" in *South African Keywords. The uses & abuses of political concepts*, edited by Emile Boonzaier and John Sharp, 68-78. Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.

Skinner, Kate. "A Different Kind of Union: An Assassination, Diplomatic Recognition, and Competing Visions of African Unity in Ghana-Togo Relations, 1956-1963" in *Visions of African Unity. New Perspectives on the History of Pan-Africanism and African Unification Projects*, edited by Matteo Grilli and Frank Gerits, 23-48. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Slater, Henry. "Dar Es Salaam and the Postnationalist Historiography of Africa", in *African Historiographies. What History for Which Africa?* edited by Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury, 249-60. London: Sage Publications, 1986.

Sluga, Glenda. "UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley." *Journal of World History* 19 no.3 (2008): 393-418.

Smith, Elizabeth. *Foreign Intervention in Africa. From the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Smith, Tom W. "Changing Racial Labels: From "Colored" to "Negro" to "Black" to "African American"." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 56 no.4 (1992): 496-514.

Solleveld, Floris. "Lepsius as a linguist: fieldwork, philology, phonetics, and 'the Hamitic hypothesis.'" *Language & History* 63 no.3 (2020): 193-213.

Southall, Aidan. "The Illusion of Tribe." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 5 no.1-2 (1970): 29-50.

Spear, Thomas, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African historiography: Methods and Sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Teferra, Dantew. "Funding Higher Education in Africa: State, Trends and Perspectives." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* 11 no.1 (2013): 19-51.

Temu, Arnold J. and Bonaventure Swai. *Historians and Africanist History: a critique: post-colonial historiography examined*. London: Zed Press, 1981.

Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ Wa. "The Myth of Tribe in African Politics." *Transition* 101 (2009): 16-23.

_____, *Moving the Centre. The struggle for cultural freedom*. Woodbridge: James Curry, 1993.

Tilley, Helen. *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1950*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Tollebeek, Jo. "Commemorative Practices in the Humanities around 1900." *Advances in Historical Studies* 4 no.3 (2015): 216-31.

_____, "L'historien quotidien: pour une anthropologie de la science historique modern", *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 61 no.2. (2011): 143-67.

_____, *Fredericq & Zonen. Een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008.

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of history. Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history*. 6th edition. London: Routledge, 2015.

Toye, R. and Toye, J. "One World, Two Cultures?: Alfred Zimmerman, Julian Huxley and the Ideological Origins of UNESCO." *History* 95 no.319 (2010): 308-331.

Twaddle, Michael. "Historians and African History" In *The British Intellectual Engagement with Africa in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Douglas Rimmer and Anthony Kirk-Greene, 138-155. London: Mac-Millan Press LTD, 2000.

Vail, Leroy. "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History" in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, edited by Leroy Vail, 1-19. London: James Curry, 1989.

Vansina, Jan. "Foreword" in *Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa. Paradigms of Development Decline and Dilemmas*, edited by Michael O. Afoláyan, xi-xiii. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007.

Vaugh, Megan and Luise White. "Terence Ranger." *Past & Present* 228 (2015): 3-14.

Vezzadini, Elena. "Identity, history and power in the historiography of Sudan: some thoughts on Holt and Daly's *A History of Modern Sudan*."

Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines 46 no.3 (2012): 439-451.

Vidal, Claudine. "Alexis Kagame entre mémoire et histoire." *History in Africa* 15 (1988): 493-504.

Völkel, Markus. *Geschichtsschreibung: Eine Einführung in globaler Perspektive*. Cologne, UTB GmbH, 2006.

Wang, Edward Q. "Interpretative and investigative: the emergence and characteristics of modern scholarly personae in China, 1900-30" in *How to be A Historian. Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800-2000*, edited by Herman Paul, 107-129. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2019.

Weiner, Melissa F. and Antonio Carmona Báez, ed. *Smash the pillars: decoloniality and the imaginary of color in the Dutch Kingdom*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018.

White, Luise. "Hodgepodge Historiography: Documents, Itineraries, and the Absence of Archives." *History in Africa* 42 (2015): 309-318.

Williams, Justin. "The Rawlings Revolution' and Rediscovery of the African Diaspora in Ghana (1983-2015)" *African Studies* 74 no.3 (2015): 366-87.

Woolf, Daniel. *A Concise History of History. Global Historiography from Antiquity to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

_____, *A Global History of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Zachernuk, Philip S. "Of Origins and Colonial Order: Southern Nigerian Historians and the 'Hamitic Hypothesis' c. 1870-1970." *Journal of African History* 35 no.3 (1994): 427-55.

Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe, ed. *The Study of Africa. Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2006.

_____, ed. *The Study of Africa Volume 2: Global and Transnational Engagements* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2007).

_____, "Introduction. The Internationalisation of African Knowledges" in *The Study of Africa*.

Volume 2 Global and Transnational Engagements, edited by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, 1-26. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2007.

_____, "The Perpetual Solitudes and Crises of African Studies in the United States" *Africa Today* 44 no.2 (1997): 193-210.

_____, *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1997.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt hoe de geschiedschrijving over Afrika veranderde gedurende de politieke dekolonisatie in Afrika in de tweede helft van de 20^e eeuw. Het onderzoek is gebaseerd op de casestudie van de *General History of Africa*, ook bekend als *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* (hierna GHA), die tussen 1964 en 1998 tot stand kwam. De GHA was een achtdelige, tweetalige serie boeken over de geschiedenis van Afrika waaraan meer dan driehonderd auteurs mee schreven. Het project werd geleid door een negenendertig-koppige wetenschappelijke commissie. Deze commissie bestond grotendeels uit vooraanstaande Afrikaanse historici, aangevuld met prominente historici van Afrika uit Europa en Noord-Amerika. Het belangrijkste doel was, de geschiedenis van Afrika te beschrijven vanuit een Afrikaans perspectief en haar zo te Afrikaniseren. Dit was een reactie op de 19^e- en vroeg 20^e eeuwse Europese koloniale veronderstelling dat Afrika geen geschiedenis bezat, maar dat alleen de geschiedenis van Europeanen in Afrika de moeite van het bestuderen waard was. Deze herijking van de geschiedenis van Afrika aan een Afrikaans perspectief noem ik de “dekolonisatie van de geschiedschrijving”, omdat het een reactie was op koloniale en racistische ideeën over het Afrikaanse continent.

Mijn studie sluit aan bij eerdere studies binnen de geschiedenis van de geesteswetenschappen die zich op wetenschappelijke praktijken hebben gericht, maar voegt daaraan een cruciale vernieuwende dimensie toe door een Afrikaanse en antikoloniale casus centraal te

stellen. Daarnaast wordt belicht hoe de praktijk en de materialiteit van de dekolonisatie van kennis in zijn werk gaan. Op die manier wordt een aanvulling geboden op rijke theoretische reflecties uit de hoek van *postcolonial* en *decolonial studies*. Daarmee sluit dit proefschrift aan bij eerdere inspanningen om een globale geschiedenis van de geesteswetenschappen op gang te brengen.

Mijn belangrijkste conclusie is, dat een dergelijke dekolonisatie van geschiedschrijving op meerdere niveaus plaatsvindt. Het is zowel een politieke, een economische als een epistemische onderneming. De verhouding tussen deze verschillende elementen alsmede de verschillende persoonlijkheden binnen de GHA was complex. Om de geschiedenis van de GHA te begrijpen is het daarom noodzakelijk niet alleen naar de theorie van en idealen voor de beoogde dekolonisatie te kijken, maar ook naar de manier waarop deze in de praktijk werken én hoe er na afloop van het project op werd teruggekeken. Mijn studie bestaat daarom uit drie deelonderwerpen: 1. De idealen van de GHA. 2. Hoe deze idealen in de realiteit functioneerden binnen de GHA en 3. De retrospectieve reflectie op het werk.

In deel 1 van deze dissertatie toon ik aan dat de *GHA* in de eerste plaats tot doel had de Afrikaanse geschiedschrijving tot een wetenschappelijk en epistemisch respectabele activiteit te maken binnen de (deels denkbeeldige) grotere Euro-Amerikaanse academische wereld. Ten tweede wilde de GHA, door het bovenstaande te bewerkstelligen, bijdragen aan de politieke emancipatie van het continent. Epistemische en politieke overwegingen waren dus met elkaar verweven in de doelstellingen van de GHA. Deze doelstellingen werden verwoord aan de hand van drie verschillende idealen: het ideaal van anti-eurocentrisme, van pan-Afrikaanse diversiteit en van politieke emancipatie. De GHA was een pan-Afrikaans en emancipatoir samenwerkingsproject dat op grote schaal Afrikaanse geschiedenis produceerde omdat het ervan overtuigd was dat het Afrikaanse verleden even serieus bestudeerd moest worden als het Europese. Politieke dekolonisatie moest dus gepaard gaan met historiografische dekolonisatie, en omdat het Afrikaanse continent een gemeenschappelijke geschiedenis van koloniale onderdrukking kende, werd dit vanuit een pan-Afrikaans perspectief bekeken.

Anti-eurocentrisme was misschien wel het belangrijkste epistemische ideaal dat werd geformuleerd, met als doel een onafhankelijke Afrikaanse geschiedenis te creëren als reactie op de koloniale

geschiedschrijving die eraan vooraf was gegaan. Het werd vooral in stelling gebracht als een anti-ideaal, waarbij het ging om het vermijden van eurocentrisme en vooringenomenheid. Het eurocentrisme werd verpersoonlijkt door figuren als Hugh Trevor-Roper en in mindere mate Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, en op die manier geconceptualiseerd als een epistemische ondeugd die verbonden was met individuen in plaats van de historische discipline als geheel. Het werd bovendien gehistoriseerd door middel van reflectie op de geschiedenis van de historische discipline zelf en raakte op die manier achterhaald. Omdat eurocentrische geschiedenissen van Afrika hadden ontkend dat het continent een geschiedenis had voordat het eerste contact met Europeanen had plaatsgevonden, werd onderzoek naar de prekoloniale geschiedenis het aangewezen middel om dat eurocentrisme te bestrijden. *Oral history* was de historische methode bij uitstek om het onderzoek naar dat prekoloniale verleden mogelijk te maken.

Het ideaal van het anti-eurocentrisme ging gepaard met een focus op pan-Afrikaanse diversiteit en samenwerking. Dit was een ideaal dat moest bijdragen aan de objectiviteit waaraan het de eurocentrische geschiedschrijving van het Afrikaanse verleden tot dan toe had ontbroken, omdat het meerdere perspectieven zou omvatten. Het inbrengen van meerdere verschillende Afrikaanse perspectieven had daarnaast een politieke motivatie. Men stelde zich voor dat het privilegiëren van Afrikaanse auteurs boven niet-Afrikanen zou bijdragen aan de Afrikanisering van de historische discipline en daarmee aan de emancipatie van Afrikaanse historici binnen die discipline. Pan-Afrikaanse diversiteit was daarmee ook een antiekoloniaal ideaal. Tegelijkertijd was de GHA betrekkelijk vaag over de vraag hoe auteurs geselecteerd moesten worden. (Afgezien van het feit dat Afrikaanse historici voorrang moesten krijgen.)

Politiek speelde een beslissende rol binnen de GHA. Hoe het werk zou bijdragen aan politieke emancipatie was voor alle betrokkenen een belangrijk vraagstuk. Ze meenden dat dit moest gebeuren door de GHA-delen wijd te verspreiden en daarmee het hele continent te voorzien van een pan-Afrikaanse nationalistische geschiedenis. De GHA stelde zichzelf daarom niet alleen verantwoordelijk voor het produceren van Afrikaanse geschiedenis, maar ook voor het zodanig ontwikkelen ervan dat deze kon bijdragen aan de opvoeding van de burgers van de diverse nieuwe nationale staten in Afrika na dekolonisatie, zowel op universitair niveau als in de rest van de

samenleving. De GHA wilde dus zowel academici als een algemeen publiek bereiken. Als gevolg daarvan ontstond er enige spanning tussen de verschillende beoogde doelgroepen van het project.

In het tweede deel van deze dissertatie analyseer ik wat er van de in deel 1 besproken idealen terecht kwam. Het bleek lastig om eurocentrisme binnen de geschiedenis van Afrika uit te bannen, omdat epistemische en politieke idealen soms maar moeilijk met elkaar in overeenstemming konden worden gebracht. Toen de Senegalese academicus Cheikh Anta Diop (1923-1986) beargumenteerde dat de oude Egyptenaren van oorsprong zwarte Afrikanen waren door gebruik te maken van racialistische wetenschap, bekritiseerde hij eurocentrisme met instrumenten die voortkwamen uit datzelfde eurocentrisme. De commissie die toezicht hield op het tot stand brengen van de GHA vond het moeilijk om dergelijke epistemisch ondeugdelijke, maar politiek aansprekende argumenten te weerstaan. Diops statuur als een van de meest prominente Afrikaanse historici van de Afrikaanse geschiedenis droeg bij tot de aantrekkingskracht van zijn betoog, wat suggereerde dat de interne politiek van de ontluikende subdiscipline van de Afrikaanse geschiedenis moeilijk te negeren was. De doelstellingen van het creëren van Afrikaanse geschiedenis als een wetenschappelijk achtenswaardige discipline enerzijds, en anderzijds een instrument om specifiek bij te dragen aan politieke emancipatie door natievorming op het Afrikaanse continent, waren soms moeilijk met elkaar te verenigen.

Dit was eveneens zichtbaar in de manier waarop de redacteur van deel 7, Adu Boahen (1932-2006), de geschiedenis van de koloniale periode in Afrika wilde vormgeven. Politiek en geschiedenis waren voor hem geen gescheiden zaken, en daarom stelde hij zich in de naam van natiestaatvorming op het continent een geschiedenis van de koloniale periode voor die zich zowel richtte op het verzet tegen de Europeanen als op de geschiedenissen van proto-nationalistische groeperingen. Dit leidde tot een conflict met de Britse historicus Terence Ranger (1929-2015), die een ander idee had over de aard van het verzet tegen het kolonialisme en die andere politieke ideeën had ontwikkeld over het gebruik van Afrikaanse geschiedschrijving.

De ideeën van Ali Mazrui (1933-2014) omtrent de precieze betekenis van dekolonisatie van de geschiedenis, zorgden eveneens voor frictie. Mazrui was de redacteur van deel 8, dat de postkoloniale periode bestreek. Hij vond het belangrijk om in dat deel verbanden

tussen de koloniale en de postkoloniale periode zichtbaar te maken door zich te richten op de politieke realiteiten die het kolonialisme in de 20^e eeuw had gecreëerd, terwijl de rest van de commissie juist afstand wilde nemen van het belang van de Europese impact op de geschiedenis van Afrika. Bovendien werd Mazrui door sommigen gezien als te zeer betrokken bij hedendaagse kwesties en te politiek in zijn behandeling van het postkoloniale verleden. Het was hier dat wetenschappelijke respectabiliteit en politieke en morele idealen opnieuw in conflict kwamen.

Vragen over de manier waarop Afrikaanse verledens moesten worden gepresenteerd speelden bovendien een belangrijke rol in termen van macht en mogelijkheid. Wie kon pleiten voor een gede koloniseerde geschiedenis van Afrika en wie mocht bepalen wat dat betekende? Het was moeilijk de Afrikaanse geschiedenis binnen de GHA te dekoloniseren of te Afrikaniseren omdat er sprake was van raciale ongelijkheid in termen van mondiale epistemische positionering. Afrikaanse en Euro-Amerikaanse historici van Afrika namen zeer verschillende posities in binnen het mondiale systeem van kennisproductie, en de inbreng van Afrikaanse historici had uiteindelijk niet altijd evenveel invloed als die van Euro-Amerikaanse historici, zelfs binnen een dekoloniserend project. Hoewel de GHA een gezamenlijk pan-Afrikaans geschiedkundig werk had willen creëren, bleven Euro-Amerikanen in feite een cruciale rol spelen als gevolg van groeiende ongelijkheid in materiële omstandigheden en financiering.

De Afrikanisering van de Afrikaanse geschiedenis werd daarom misschien wel het ernstigst belemmerd door de groeiende ongelijkheid binnen de mondiale politiek van kennisproductie over Afrika in de twintigste eeuw. Terwijl de jaren zestig de gouden jaren van de door Afrikanen geschreven Afrikaans georiënteerde geschiedenis waren geweest, brachten de jaren zeventig een ruw ontwaken uit de dromen van dekolonisatie en epistemische onafhankelijkheid, net als economische onafhankelijkheid. Deze twee zijn, misschien niet verrassend, nauw met elkaar verbonden. Als gevolg van de financiële crises in veel Afrikaanse landen in de jaren zeventig en de opkomst van autoritaire politieke regimes snoeiden veel Afrikaanse universiteiten aan hun begroting, waarbij de studie van de Afrikaanse geschiedenis vaak werd opgeofferd aan wat nuttiger studiegebieden werden geacht. Tegelijkertijd namen de financiële middelen voor de studie van de Afrikaanse geschiedenis aan de

Amerikaanse universiteiten in de jaren zestig toe ten gevolge van Koude Oorlogspolitiek. De politieke realiteit creëerde dus praktische moeilijkheden bij de verwezenlijking van alle drie de GHA-idealen. Afrikanisering, anti-eurocentrisme en politieke emancipatie werden moeilijker te verwezenlijken naarmate de studie van Afrika zich rond Amerikaanse instellingen concentreerde. De materialiteit van wetenschappelijk werk bepaalde daarom in belangrijke mate wat het in de praktijk betekende om Afrikaanse geschiedenis te dekoloniseren.

Praktische problemen vormden daarmee een tweede belangrijke barrière voor het tot stand komen van een Afrikaans georiënteerde geschiedenis van het Afrikaanse continent. Veel van de historici binnen de GHA raakten steeds meer belemmerd door administratieve verplichtingen in eigen land. Als gevolg daarvan daalde het werktempo binnen de GHA aanzienlijk vanaf de jaren 1970. Toch veranderden de werkwijzen binnen de GHA veelal niet mee met de veranderende realiteit. De GHA hield vast aan het belang van een op samenwerking gebaseerde werkethiek en stuurde documenten de wereld rond voor commentaar, om zo te komen tot wat zij als een meer diverse en daarmee objectievere geschiedenis beschouwden. Tegelijkertijd werd het leeuwendeel van het project uiteindelijk uitgevoerd door minder dan tien van de belangrijkste commissieleden, waarvan de meesten afkomstig waren uit West- of Oost-Afrika, Europa of Noord-Amerika. Ondanks het feit dat de GHA een pan-Afrikaanse ideologie aanhing, speelden slechts weinig Noord- of Zuid-Afrikanen een rol van betekenis in het project, en waren Afrikaanse vrouwen er evenmin op een zinvolle manier bij betrokken. Marxistisch georiënteerde historici figureerden bovendien in de periferie van het project, ondanks het belang van marxistische ideologieën voor de bevrijding van Zuidelijk Afrika. De GHA wilde geen partij kiezen in de Koude Oorlog, hoewel ze er onmiskenbaar door werd beïnvloed.

In het laatste deel van deze dissertatie maak ik duidelijk hoe de GHA werd ontvangen nadat de reeks in de jaren '80 en '90 werd gepubliceerd. Deze ontvangst was niet altijd positief, mede omdat de GHA door de tijd was ingehaald. Het besef dat een wisseling van Europese naar Afrikaanse perspectieven alleen niet voldoende was, ontstond in de jaren zeventig als gevolg van postkoloniale kritiek. Deze kritiek betoogde dat koloniale denkbeelden waren doorgedrongen tot het discours van de geschiedschrijving zelf. Afrikaanse

geschiedschrijving moest zich hiervan losweken en een eigen theoretisch kader ontwikkelen voordat dekolonisatie van de geschiedschrijving zinvol zou zijn. De GHA was hier volgens recensenten niet in geslaagd. Sommigen vonden ook dat het werk te uitgesproken politiek was. Dit oordeel is vooral interessant in vergelijking met de manier waarop er over de Britse tegenhanger van de GHA, de *Cambridge History of Africa*, werd geoordeeld. De Cambridge serie kreeg doorgaans geen verwijten dat ze té politiek geëngageerd was. Dit illustreert mijn conclusie dat hetgeen als politiek wordt gezien, deels wordt bepaald door positionering. Wat op epistemisch niveau als dekoloniserend wordt beschouwd en wat louter als politiek wordt afgedaan, wordt op zijn minst gedeeltelijk bepaald door iemands positie, net als de vraag of epistemische en politieke zaken als zodanig kunnen worden gescheiden. Wanneer die positionali-teit als gevolg van verschillende historisch bepaalde factoren meer macht heeft op het toneel van de mondiale kennisproductie, moet de conclusie niet alleen zijn dat kennis macht is, maar evenzeer dat macht bepaalt wie kennis kan produceren, en welke kennis op de juiste waarde wordt geschat. Het was overigens precies dit besef dat de GHA-historici zelf na afloop van het werk met een merkwaardige nostalgie deed terugkijken op het project. Zij realiseerden zich dat de tijd waarin dekolonisatie van de geschiedschrijving mogelijk was, althans wat betreft perspectiviteit, was verstreken na de periode van optimisme in de jaren zestig.

In deze dissertatie heb ik postkoloniale kritiek op de conceptuele aard van de academische geschiedschrijving en de geschiedenis van de kennisproductie over Afrika in gesprek gebracht met studies van de wetenschappelijke praktijk om te laten zien dat zulke kritiek haar grenzen heeft. De ontwikkeling van een autonome academische kennisproductie in Afrika wordt niet alleen belemmerd door de epistemische barrières die worden opgeworpen door de kolonialiteit van de kennis. Zonder politieke macht en financiële steun lijkt het dekoloniseren van de geschiedschrijving op universitair niveau onhaalbaar. Ter aanvulling van de theoretische beschouwingen heb ik een casestudie over de praktijk van de dekolonisatie gepresenteerd. Praktische belemmeringen en institutionele dynamiek, evenals (geo)politieke veranderingen en machtsstructuren, beïnvloeden de productie van Afrikaanse geschiedenis evenzeer als de ontwikkeling van theoretische kaders. Ik heb bovendien de rol van Europese en Amerikaanse onderzoekers bij de dagelijkse vormgeving van de

geschiedenis van Afrika geanalyseerd om aan te tonen dat zij invloedrijk bleven en blijven binnen de academische gemeenschap die kennis over Afrika produceert. De context van dekolonisatie is van groot belang in termen van mondiale politieke machtsverschuivingen en de financiële situatie van specifieke universiteiten. Binnen de GHA deden zich bovendien, zoals bij elk grootschalig project gebaseerd op een specifiek ideologische grondslag, meningsverschillen en daaruit voortvloeiende spanningen voor, die nog werden versterkt door logistieke problemen. De specifieke dynamiek met betrekking tot de GHA werd echter sterk beïnvloed door de snel veranderende realiteit van het Afrikaanse continent in de 20e eeuw. Is het, achteraf gezien, niet een klein wonder en een blijk van het doorzettingsvermogen van de GHA-historici dat de acht delen überhaupt zijn verschenen?

Curriculum Vitae

Larissa Schulte Nordholt was born in 1992 in Hilversum, the Netherlands. She completed a BA (cum laude) in History at Leiden University in 2015 and an Mphil in Political Thought and Intellectual History at Cambridge University in 2016. In the autumn of that same year, she became the 18th Prix de Paris Lauréate, which allowed her to reside in Paris during one year to conduct archival research in the UNESCO archives. In September 2017 she started her PhD research on the decolonisation of knowledge within the *General History of Africa* thanks to the NWO programme *promoties in de geesteswetenschappen*. This research was based on the archival research conducted during her year in Paris. Her research was supervised by professor Herman Paul and professor Jan-Bart Gewald. She has published articles in *History in Africa*, *History of Humanities*, *Yearbook of Women's History* (of which she also an editor) and *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*. She also co-edited (with Herman Paul) a special issue of the *Journal for the Philosophy of History* and has published a chapter in an edited volume (by Herman Paul).